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OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS WHICH WILL CONTAINUE IN THE FUTURE. OUR TALKS ENHANCED OUR MUTUAL INDERSTANDING OF OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS ON A WIDE RANGE OF AS TO INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, OUR DISCUSSIONS TOUCHED ON MAJOR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC QUESTION RANGING ACROSS THE GLOBE. WE CONFIRMED THAT WE SHARE IMPORTANT COMMON CONCERNS ON MANY SUBJECTS. AS FOR BILATERAL MATTERS WE HAD A MOST USEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. BOTH SIDES CLEARLY BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS AND NORMALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONS IN ACCORD WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING OUR DISCUSSIONS. NOW, I WILL BE HAPPY TO TAKE QUESTION. MR. SECRETARY, IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WITH THE CHINESE WERE THERE AREAS OF THE WORLD WHERE THEY WEREN'S APPROVING OF AMERICAN POLICY AND COULD YOU POINT THOSE ARES OUT TO US? WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL I WOULD SAY THERE ARE AREAS WITHIN THE WORLD IN WHICH THEY HAVE SOME DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS. WITH RESPECT TO OUR PARTICULAR COURSE OF ACTION THERE MAY BE DIFFERENCES IN TERMS OF NUANCES BUT IT WAS VERY USEFUL BECAUSE BOTH OF US DO HAVE GLOBAL INTERESTS TO CLEARLY DISCUSS THESE VARIOUS ISSUES SO THAT WE UNDERSTOOD EACH OTHERS POSITIONS AND THUS WE CAN AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE FUTURE. MR. SECRETARY: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE? YOU SAY THESE CONTACTS WILL CONTINUE. DO YOU FORESEE DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON, WHAT HAPPENS? I DON'T WANT TO BE SPECIFIC AT THIS POINT OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WILL CONTINUE. WILL AMBASSADOR HUANG HUA BE AT THE UNITED NATIONS? MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT HE WILL BE ATTENDING THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT THE UNITED NATIONS. HE HIMSELF SHOULD SPEAK SPECIFICALLY TO THAT. I WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO RETURNING THE VERY KIND HOSPITALITY WHICH HE HAS EX-

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A. WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID IS OBVIOUSLY UNITED STATES POLICY. Q: DID YOU DISCUSS WITH THE CHINESE THE KINDS OF US-TAIWAN RELATIONS THEY MIGHT TOLERATE AND STILL PERMIT FULL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES? A: AS I INDICATED I AM NOT GOING INTO DETAILS. I THINK IT WOULD BE IN APPROPRIATE FOR ME TO GO INTO DETAILS. LET ME SAY THAT WE DISCUSSED THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL. Q: AFTER FOUR DAYS OF TALKS DO YOU FEEL THAT GENERALLY, SINCE YOU DON'T WANT TO GO INTO SPECIFICS, DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU ARE ANY CLOSER TO RESOLVING THIS MAJOR OBSTACLE TO NORMALIZATION? A: AGAIN I WOULD REPEAT THAT THESE TALKS WERE EXPLORATORY. I THINK THAT THEY WERE USEFUL TALKS AND I THINK THAT AS A RESULT OF THAT BOTH OF US CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THE VIEWS OF EACH OTHER, AND THAT I THINK HAS BEEN GOOD AND USEFUL. Q: WELL THEN MAYBE, MR. SECRETARY, THE QUESTION DUGHT TO BE ARE WE FURTHER APART THAN BEFORE WE CAME HERE? THEY'RE USEFUL AND WE'RE STILL EXPLORING. IS THERE GREATER DISTANCE NOW BETWEEN US AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC THAN THERE WAS BEFORE YOU CAME HERE? A: THE ANSWER IS NO. Q: MR. SECRETARY, IN HIS TOAST THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID WE BELIEVE THAT SINO-US RELATIONS WILL SURELY MOVE FORWARD STEADILY AS DESIRED BY BOTH OUR PEOPLES SO LONG AS BOTH SIDES MAKE SINCERE EFFORTS IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. DO YOU FEEL THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MAKING SUCH A SINCERE EFFORT? A: I DO. Q: IN YOUR TOAST AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S TOAST TONIGHT BOTH OF YOU MENTIONED POINTS IN COMMON. COLD YOU IDENTIFY THE POINTS IN COMMON? A: AGAIN I THINK IT IS INAPPROPRIATE AT THIS POINT FOR ME TO GO INTO DETAIL. I STILL HAVE TO REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. I THINK IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT BOTH OF US HAVE INDICATED IN ADMIN INTERNAL USE ONLY

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OUR TOASTS AND IN OTHER STATEMENTS WHICH WE HAVE MADE THAT WE DO FIND A NUMBER OF OPOINTS OF COMMON INTEREST AND I THINK THAT THAT IS THE IMPORTANT POINT. 1: COULD WE PERHAPS ELICIT A RESPONSE FROM YOU, SIR, ON HOW YOU WOULD CHARACTERIZE HUA KUD-FENG AND TENG HSIAD-PING AS MEN WITH WHOM TO NEGOTIATE A: I HAVE MET VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING BEFORE. I HAD A VERY HIGH REGARD OF HIM AS A STATESMAN AND AS A LEADER FROM MY PREVIOUS TALKS. I APPRECIATED VERY MUCH THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH HIM AGAIN. MY TALKS GAIN THIS TIME CONFIRMED MY PREVIOUS VIEWS THAT HE IS A STATESMAN AND A LEADER OF STATURE. I WAS PRIVILIGED TODAY TO MEET WITH HUA KUOFFENG. HE IS MOST CERTAINLY A STATES MAN AND A DISTINGUISHED LEADER OF HIS NATION. Q: MY QUESTION WAS, SIR, AS TO WHETHER OR NOT YOU CAN APPRAISE THEM AS NEGOTIATORS. A: I THINK THAT MIGHT BE PRESUMPTUOUS OF ME. Q: MR. SECRETARY, HOW LONG DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE BEFORE THE REMAINING 1,000 OR SO AMERICAN TROOPS ARE PULLED OUT OF TAIWAN. A: I DO NOT WISH TO GET INTO SPECIFICS ON ANY OF THOSE KINDS OF QUESTIONS. Q: MR. SECREARY, DID YOU ACTUALLY DISCUSS THE MECHANICS OF NORMALIZATION IN ALL THESE TALKS? A: WE DISCUSSED NORMALIZATION AND THE DETAILS OF NORMALIZATION.

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Q: ONE OF THE TOASTS TONIGHT BY THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER TALKED ABOUT HOW OUR TWO COUNTRIES FACED QUESTIONS OF COMMON CONCERN AND WE HAD QUITE A FEW POINTS IN COMMON. TELL ME, SIR, COULD YOU ITEMIZE SOME OF THESE POINTS? A: AGAIN, MR. KALB, I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT I DO NOT WISH TO GO INTO DETAIL, I THINK IT IS INAPPROPRIATE TO GO INTO DETAIL. Q: DID YOU FIND THE THRUST AND STYLE OF MR. TENG'S REMARKS THIS TIME REMINISCENT OF YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM TWO YEARS AGO? A. I FOUND HIM BEFORE AND I FOUND HIM THIS TIME INCISIVE, THOUGHTFUL, ARTICULATE, AND I DON'T KNOW WHERE THIS VIEW DEVELOPED LAST TIME THAT WE HAD AN ACRIMONIOUS EXCHANGE. HE AND I WERE TALKING ABOUT THAT IN OUR MEETING YESTERDAY, NEITHER OF US RECALL ANY SUCH ACRIMONIOUS EXCHANGE. WE HAD A DIFFERENCE OF VIEWPOINT ON ONE OF TWO POINTS BUT THEY WEREN'T EXPRESSED IN ANY ACRIMONIOUS FASHION. THEY WERE CONDUCTED IN A FRIENDLY AND CORDIAL TMOSPHERE. Q: WHAT IS THE BENEFIT OF HEARING IT FROM THE CHINESE FIRSTHAND? IS THERE ANYTHING YOU KNOW NOW THAT YOU DIDN'T KNOW WHEN YOU CAME FROM WASHINGTON? A: YES, INDEED. I THINK IT IS ALWAYS ADVANTAGEOUS TO SIT DOWN FIRST HAND, PARTICULARLY WITH THE LEADERS OF A COUNTRY AND TO HAVE A CHANCE TO LAY OUT OUR VIEWS ON ISSUES IN WHICH ONE HAS A COMMON INTEREST AND ISSUES WHERE THERE MAY BE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AND FOR THE OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO PROBE THEIR VIEWS SO THAT WE FULLY UNDERSTAND THE DETAILS AND NUANCES OF THOSE POSITIONS AND FOR THEM TO BE ABLE TO DO THE SAME WITH US. I THINK THAT ANYBODY WHO HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS IN THE PAST KNOWS FULL WELL THAT THIS IS ESSENTIAL IF ONE IS GOING TO PROCEED TO DEVELOP UNDERSTANDING. Q: IN TERMS OF DETAIL OR NUANCE HAVE OU SEEN ANY ALTERATION IN THE CHINESE POSITION BETWEEN THE Approved For Release 2005/02/14: ENT-RDP79R00553A002900040009-1

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TIME YOU LEFT WASHINGTON AND NOW? A: AGAIN, I DO NOT WISH TO COMMENT ON BEHALF OF THE CHINESE. Q: MR. SECRETARY, HAVE THE CHINESE GIVEN YOU THE CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZING RELATIONS? A: THE CHINESE POSITION ON A NUMBER OF THE MATTERS RELATING TO TAIWAN HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED PUBLICLY AND I THINK THAT IT WOLD BE BEST IF I LEFT IT THAT WAY. Q: WERE THERE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS MADE FOR SOLVING OF SOME OF THE LESSER ISSUES, SUCH AS ASSETS, CULTURAL EXCHANGE? A: THERE WAS A FULLDISCUSSION OF THESE ISSUES. THERE HAVE BEEN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS ON A NUMBER OF THESE ISSUES BEFORE AND WHAT WE WERE DOING IN THIS PARTICULAR AREAS, SUCH AS CULTURAL EXCHANGES, TRADE AND THOSE KINDS OF MATTERS WAS TO BACK UP AND CARRY ON FROM A SPECIFIC SITUATION. Q: COULD I FOLLOW UP WITH TWO POINTS: 1) DID YOU BRING UP THE SUBJECT OF THE CHINESE JAMMING THE VOICE OF AMERICA. A: NO, THAT SPECIFIC ISSUE DID NOT ARISE. Q: IF NOT, WHY NOT? IS IT NOT SOMETHING THAT WOULD IMPROVE RELATIONS FROM A U.S. POINT OF VIEW? A: WE WILL BE HAVING FURTHER DISCUSSION IN THE FUTURE. WE HAVE ONLY SO MUCH TIME. Q: SECOND POINT, DID YOU AND AT WHAT LEVEL BRING UP THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS? A: YES I DID. IN DISCUSSING OUR FOREIGN POLICY, OBVIOUSLY I DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS BECAUSE IT IS ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY AND I LAID OUT OUR VIEW ON THIS AND I HOPE CLARIFIED IT. Q: DID THE CHINESE RESPOND TO YOUR VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS? A: I HAVE DISCUSSED IT WITH THEM OVER AND ABOVE MY OWN STATEMENT. O: AT WHAT LEVEL WAS THAT? WAS IT JUST AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL OR ... A: I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO INDIVIDUALS, IT WAS ADMIN INTERNAL USE ONLY

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Q: WAS HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSED IN RELATION TO

CHINA?

A: I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO ANY FURTHER DETAIL ON

THAT THAN I HAVE ALREADY.

QC MR. SECRETARY, IN YOUR TOAST TONIGHT YOU SAID

"I BELIEVE WE HAVE ENHANCED OUR MUTUAL UNDER
STANDING" AND YOU WENT ON. I'M GOING TOASK YOU,

CAN YOU SHARE WITH US HOW THERE WAS AN ENHANCEMENT

OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE

CONFLICTING VIEWS OF TAIWAN.

A: SURELY. THERE WAS AN OPPORTUNITY IN THE FACE

TO FACE DISCUSSIONS WHICH I HAD WITH THE THREE

LEADERS WITH WHOM I SPENT MANY HOURSS OF CONVERSATION

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R 2603122 AUG 77 FM USLO PEKING TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8544 INFO RUKORE/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 185 RUEHTP/AMEMBASSY TAIPEI 1231 RUEKHO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 2449 RUMJDH/AMCONSUL HONG KONG 5174 UNCLAS SECTION 4 OF 4 PEKING 1870 TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS AND POSITIONS OF BOTH PARTIES AND IN THE PROCESS OF SUCH A DISSUSSION LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR MISUNDERSTANDINGS OR DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS ARE OFTEN CLARIFIED AND THIS WAS THE CASE. DID YOU HAVE A FEELING THAT THE CHINESE UNDERSTOOD SOME OF THE COMPLEXITIES FROM THE AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW IN MEETING THE CHINESE REQUIREMENTS ON TAIWAN? I DON'T WANT TO EXPRESS A VIEW ON BEHALF OF THEM. THEY ARE EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT AND I THINK THEY UNDERSTOOD EXACTLY WHAT I WAS SAYING. 0: DID YOU SAY ANYTHING TO THEM ABOUT THE ROLE OR ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. CONGRESS ON NORMALIZATION? I DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES IN GENERAL TERMS. OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE CONGRESS, THE CHANGES WHICH HAVE OCCURRED OVER THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF OR SO. I THINK THIS WAS A USEFUL DISCUSSION FROM THEIR STANDPOINT TO HEAR FIRSTHAND WHAT THE VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE AND OF THOSE WHO REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CONGRESS. WHEN YOU SAY DVER THE CHANGES OF THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY THAT? LET ME GIVE YOU A COUPLE OF EXAMPLES. I THINK THAT IN THE UNITED STATES THERE IS GENERAL AND BROAD SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY. I THINK, SECONDLY, THAT THE TRENDS WHICH APPEAR TO BE DEVELOPING IN EARLIER YEARS TOWARD A WITHDRAWING AND, ADMIN INTERNAL USE ONLY

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THEREFORE, AN UNWILLINGNESS TO PLAY A ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPHERE, A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, HAS CHANGED AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE BY THE UNITED STATES IN INTERNATIONAL TRENDS. MR. SECRETARY, WOULD YOU SAY IN THE MOST GENERAL TERMS THAT YOU ARE GOING AWAY FROM HERE MORE CONFIDENT OF BEING ABLE TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS OR MERELY BETTER INFORMED ON THE DIFFICULTIES? I WOULD SAY THAT I GO AWAY FROM HERE BETTER INFORMED. CERTAINLY THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT THAT. I THINK THAT AS I LEAVE HERE THAT THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC PROBABLY NOW HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THESE ISSUES AND I HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT AS A PART OF THAT PROCESS THAT WE ARE BOTH MORE UNDERSTANDING AND THUS ARE IN A POSITION WHERE WE HAVE A BETTER GRASP OF THE PROBLEMS OF NORMALIZATION. WE BOTH HAVE STATED THAT WE BELIEVE IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO PROCEED TOWARD NORMALIZATION, THAT HAS BEEN THE STATED GOAL OF OUR COUNTRY. IT HAS BEEN STATED BY THE PRESIDENT AND BY ME AND IT REMAINS OUR POSITION. WHEN YOU CAME TO THIS SERIES OF MEETINGS YOU HAD IN YOUR MIND SOME QUESTION ABOUT HOW THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC MIGHT REACT TO CERTAIN AMERICAN INITIATIVES IN THE NORMALIZATION PROCESS. WITHOUT INTRUDING ON THE SUBSTANCE OF WHATEVER ANSWERS YOU HAVE RECEIVED;, DO YOU LEAVE PEKING WITH THE NOTION THAT YOU NOW DO UNDERSTAND THE POSITION OF THIS GOVERNMENT ON THIS QUESTION. I BELIEVE I Do. A: MR. SECRETARY, A TECHNICAL QUESTION, WHY IS Q: THERE NO COMMUNIQUE AT THE END OF THIS MEETING? THE REASON IS VERY SIMPLE DNE. WE TALKED IT OVER. WE DECIDED THAT INASMUCH AS THIS WAS AND EXPLORATORY MEETING THERE WAS NO NEED FOR A COMMUNIQUE AT THIS TIME. THERE HAD BEEN PREVIOUS MEETINGS HERE DURING THE LAST ADMINISTRATION WHERE

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THERE WERE NO COMMUNIQUES, IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THERE BEING NO REASON FOR IT THAT THERE WAS NO NEED TO TRY AND DRAFT A COMMUNIQUE. OUR HOSTS AGREED AND WE DECIDED TO PROCEED IN THAT FASHION. IT WAS AS SIMPLE AS THAT. Q: DID YOU SPECIFICALLY DISCUSS CONGRESSIONAL OPINION OF TAIWAN AND THE TAIWAN QUESTION? IN DESCRIBING THE DOMESTIC SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES THAT WAS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS THAT I DISCUSSED. MR. SECRETARY, DID YOU GET ANY MORE INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY IN YOUR PRIVATE TALKS ON THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN THAN WE SEEM TO BE HEARING IN PUBLIC? I DON'T WANT TO TALK IN TERMS OF FLEXIBILITY OR LACK OF FLEXIBILITY. AGAIN YOU ARE TRYING TO GET INTO DETAIL I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO. WITHOUT GOING INTO SUBSTANCE, ARE YOU ABLE TO Q: SAY THAT YOU MADE, IN THIS SERIES OF MEETINGS, ANY PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION? LET ME SAY SIMPLY THAT I THINK THIS WAS A A: VERY USEFUL MEETING. AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, IT WAS A GOOD MEETING, A CONSTRUCTIVE MEETING. I WILL LEAVE IT AT THAT. DID THE CHINESE ASK QUESTIONS OR EXPRESS CONCERN Q: ABOUT WEAKENING OF AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN ASIS? A: IN ASIA? Q: YES A : NO . OR ELSEWHERE. Q: WE HAD A DISCUSSION ABOUT ALL OF THE VARIOUS A: REGIONS OF THE WORLD AND I THINK AS A RESULT OF THAT I THINK THEY HAVE A MUCH CLEARER UNDER-STANDING OF OUR POSITION AND OF THE NEW INITIATIVES WHICH WE HAVE TAKEN AND I THINK REACTED FAVORABLY TO A NUMBER OF THESE INITIATIVES. MR. SECRETARY, YOU WILL BE GLING TO JAPAN

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TO REPORT ON THESE TALKS. WILL YOU ALSO BE SENDING ANYONE TO THE SOUTH KOREA OR PHILLIPINES? A: I WILL INDEED, YES. WILL YOU BE SENDING ANYONE TO TAIWAN? 0: I WILL BE SENDING THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY A: MR. HOLBROOKE TO SOUTH KOREA. THIS HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL IN THE PAST THAT AFTER A MEETING IN PEKING THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY SHOULD GO AND HAVE TALKS IN SECUL AND IT IS ALSO TRADITIONAL FOR THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO GO TO TAIPEI AND HAVE TALKDS THERE. THAT WILL CONTINUE HERE AS IT DID IN THE PAST. THANK YOU, SIR. WOODCOCK